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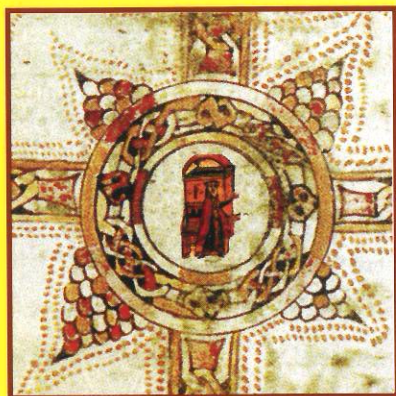
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AUTOUR DE BYZANCE - 1

«L'ÉDUCATION AU GOUVERNEMENT ET À LA VIE»  
LA TRADITION DES «RÈGLES DE VIE»  
DE L'ANTIQUITÉ AU MOYEN-ÂGE

Actes du colloque international  
Pise, 18 et 19 mars 2005



Centre d'études byzantines,  
néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes,  
École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ

THE PLACE OF KEKAUMENOS  
IN THE ADMONITORY TRADITION.

We stand on the shoulders of giants. Karl Krumbacher and his successors brought order into chaos – and they did so by organising the works of Byzantine literature into categories. This was an intrinsically Byzantine approach, and it worked extremely well. The great *Handbücher* are what has made it possible for our studies to progress. And Byzantine literature appears to lend itself to such an approach. Genres appear carefully defined, as do levels of culture and literature. Organising this material therefore involved defining the genre and the level of a work, and then editing it within those parameters. What we need to remember is that these were only working hypotheses ; they worked well in enabling us to make progress, but as we become more familiar with a wider range of Byzantine literature, in reliable editions, these categories present more and more of a problem. Only rarely so far has this issue to been addressed ; Byzantine philologists are busier with other tasks ; but some scholars have shown the way<sup>1</sup>. In reassessing this process, therefore, there are two aspects to be emphasised. We impose a category of period ; but these writers saw themselves as part of a living tradition – they would not have understood our use of a category called «Byzantine literature». Kekaumenos and others have a clear sense of «ancient» and «modern» writers : but they are all in one tradition, which includes the authors of Attic literature, the writers of the Roman period, the Septuagint and the fathers of the Church.

So the limits in time are not those which we would use. We also impose limits by subject matter, and we tend to distinguish practical from «literary» works, imposing a hierarchical structure. Ancient and mediaeval literatures include a very large category of «useful» works which ranges from texts which tell you how

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1. See in particular the work of M. MULLETT, with a useful overview in «Rhetoric, Theory and the Imperative of Performance : Byzantium and Now», in E. JEFFREYS (ed. by), *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, London 2003, 151-170.

to build a siege engine, or cure and illness, or govern and empire, to texts which tell you how to live your life in the best possible way<sup>2</sup>. These texts were often written by authors who also composed what we conceive as «literary» texts ; for the various categories they used the appropriate level of discourse<sup>3</sup>. Within the tradition of «useful» texts, we have to confront the issue of «originality». We have no difficulty in accepting that a cookery book or a guide book should repeat what others have said : we tend to expect subjective and «original» writing on matters of personal conduct and morality. But this is a very modern approach. Professor Odorico demonstrated, many years ago, that the collections of *gnomae* which scholars had for so long seen as nothing but quarries for ancient texts, were in fact creative works, with authors who were proud of them<sup>4</sup>.

This is the background against which to consider the text under discussion, which I will describe as the work of Kekaumenos. It survives in only one manuscript, and was first published in 1896<sup>5</sup>. The text which we possess is incomplete, and was known to be so by an earlier scribe, who added a brief prologue (printed on page 1 of the earliest edition) ; this prologue is earlier than our copy, since it is listed in the table of contents (Pinax) which precedes the text in our manuscript. The text had already lost, not only some preceding material, but also, according to the author of the prologue, material in the body of the text. One such lacuna is apparently indicated by the space left at f.146 (8.15) ; others are suggested by the transitions in the numbering of the sections. We therefore have only a part – although a substantial part – of a work whose original extent is unknown to us, in an uncertain condition. The name of the author is also unknown ; but it seems reasonable at least to assume that he bore the same name as his father, who was called Kekaumenos.

2. C. ROUECHÉ, «The literary background of Kekaumenos», in C. HOLMES – J. WARING (ed. by), *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, Leiden 2002, 111-138.

3. C. ROUECHÉ, «The rhetoric of Kekaumenos», in JEFFREYS, *Rhetoric...*, *op. cit.*, 23-37.

4. P. ODORICO, *Il Prato e L'Ape. Il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni*, Vienna 1986 [WBS 12].

5. *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris De officiis regiis libellus*, ed. B. WASSILIEWSKY – V. JERNSTEDT, St. Petersburg 1896 ; it is their pagination, as the most extensively quoted, which has been used here. The important re-edition, *Cecaumeni Consilia et Narrationes*, ed. G.G. LITAVRIN, Moscow 1972, appeared in a revised second edition in 2003. Litavrin's text of 1972 was used for an edition with Modern Greek translation, *Κεκαυμένος, Στρατηγικόν*, ed. D. TSOUGARAKIS, Athens 1993, and one with Italian translation, *Cecaumeno, Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo*, ed. M.D. SPADARO, Alessandria 1998.

A large part of the surviving work (9-36) is devoted to advice on military matters, and the author appears to describe it as a στρατηγικόν, «military handbook» (19.19). It was presumably on this basis that the scribe responsible for the Prologue described the text as a «Strategikon», and this name for the work was used by Vasilievskij and Jernstedt in their edition. Most later editors have preferred the title, first suggested by Paul Lemerle, of *Consilia et Narrationes*, «Advice and Anecdotes», but both titles can be found in use. The strategic section has also attracted a disproportionate amount of attention because it is illustrated by a large number of narratives of historical events ; these are also found in other parts of the work, but not so abundantly. It is clear from these that the author was active in the middle of the eleventh century, and the text was probably composed in the late 1070s. Most of the scholarly attention paid to the work has come from historians, concerned to learn from these narratives, and also to determine the possible identity of the author - a subject which has developed a large bibliography<sup>6</sup>. Far less attention has been paid to the role of the work in the admonitory tradition ; an exception is the recent article by Paolo Odorico<sup>7</sup>.

The incomplete text which we have includes at least three different compositions. The major work (1-75) is advice ostensibly addressed to the author's sons ; this is broken into a series of sections, each introduced by a hypothesis : «if you are in such and such a position, then ...» The apparent epilogue to the work is at 76 ; but this is followed by «Advice to a Toparch» (76-79). After that are two further pieces : a note on mythical creatures and on thunder and lightening, with some miscellanea (80-84) and the *Consilium Principi*, «Advice to an Emperor» (93-104) addressed to future emperors. There is clearly disarray in the manuscript tradition, and this has led to various theories about authorship of the different parts. I have discussed elsewhere the status and significance of the piece on dragons, which has tended to be treated as a separate work<sup>8</sup>. The first editors also considered the *Consilium Principi* to be by a different author – not an unreasonable proposal, since the author of the whole work does appear to claim three separate grandfathers, and this hypothesis would reduce the number to a more

6. Most recently A.G.C. SAVVIDES, «The Byzantine family of Kekaumenos», *Δίπτυχα* 4 (1986), 12-27, and ID «The Armeno-Byzantine Family of Cecaumenos : addenda et corrigenda», *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 2 (1990) 224-226.

7. P. ODORICO, «Un esempio di lunga durata della trasmissione del sapere : Cecaumeno, Sinadinos, l'Antichità, l'età moderna», in M.S. FUNGHI (a cura di), *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico*, I-II, Firenze 2003-2004, I, 283-299.

8. ROUECHÉ, «The literary background...» *cit.*, 129-135.



normal two. It gradually became evident that this was in fact not the case. There are frequent similarities of style and language – cf. e.g. 50.2 and 93.3, 59.7-8 and 100.13-16<sup>9</sup>. But it has still tended to be treated separately : so Hunger includes it in his section «Rhetorische Praxis : Fürstenspiegel»<sup>10</sup>. G. Prinzing had to make a strong argument for the inclusion of the *Consilium Principi* with the rest<sup>11</sup> ; Spadaro still treats it as separate<sup>12</sup>. The order of the texts in the tradition is clearly confused ; and the presentation of the text in the first edition, where the *Consilium Principi* was separated from the rest, amplified this confusion. But in fact, there are evident links. The style of the section on the toparch, which is full of warnings about the dangers of trusting the Byzantine emperor, leads very well into the advice to an emperor, which does not, in fact, start as advice to an emperor. Instead, there is a paragraph of advice to the reader, about the limits of obedience to the throne, which is most elegantly used to introduce the advice to the emperor himself. The tone, therefore, has a certain irony : and the text which follows can be read as a piece of political commentary as much as a text really intended for the emperor.

There is nothing surprising about the attachment of advice to a ruler to advice intended for individuals, if we read the whole work in the admonitory tradition. The same juxtaposition can be found in the moral florilegia : both the Anthology of Stobaeus, and one of the largest of the published later florilegia – the so-called «Melissa» – include, among sections on all aspects of life, sections on «good emperors» and «bad emperors», which include many of the commonplaces found in the literary admonitions to emperors. The obvious antecedents, of course, are the two great admonitory speeches attributed to Isocrates. The *Ad Demonicum* is

9. On this, see G. BUCKLER, «Authorship of the Strategikon of Cecaumenos», *BZ* 36 (1936) 7-26, p. 14-15 ; N. BANESCU, «À propos de Kekaumenos», *Byz* 13 (1938) 129-138, p.130-132 ; P. LEMERLE, *Prolegomènes à une édition critique et commentée des Conseils et Récits de Kékaumenos*, Brussels 1960, p. 5-8.

10. H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I, Munich 1978, p. 162-163.

11. G. PRINZING, «Beobachtungen zu "integrierten" Fürstenspiegeln der Byzantiner», *JÖB* 38 (1988) 1-51, esp. 19-22 ; for the unity of the work see also A. KAZHDAN – G. CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium*, Washington 1982, p. 26 and 181 n. 15.

12. M.D. SPADARO, «Cecaumeno : note filologiche al πρὸς βασιλέα», in R. ROMANO (a cura di), *Problemi di ecdotica e esegesi di testi bizantini e grecomedievali*, Naples 1993, 47-62 ; EAD. «Ἡ Λόγος βασιλικὸς di Cecaumeno», in A. CARILE (a cura di), *Σύνδεσμος*. [=Studi in Onore di R. Anastasi], II, Catania 1994, 349-381.

addressed to a private individual ; but it echoes and develops the structure of the *Ad Nicoclem*, addressed to a ruler. Much of the advice is interchangeable – so, for example, advice to die bravely rather than live in shame comes from the *Ad Nicoclem*, but is drawn on by many, including Kekaumenos, in advising individuals<sup>13</sup>. The careful edition by Westerink of Photius' Letter 1 to Michael of Bulgaria shows Photius drawing on both the two Isocratean works to advise a ruler. The *Spaneas*, an admonitory poem of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, has been shown to have used the Isocratean works via a florilegium, which could have further blended the two traditions<sup>14</sup>.

So Kekaumenos is writing within the tradition. In the section addressed to the emperor he does modify the hypothesis structure – here for the first time he does not say «if you are a ...», which is certainly quite discreet. But what is far more worthy of remark is the section in the *Advice and Anecdotes* of Kekaumenos which is really without parallel, that of Advice to a Toparch. It is quite short (76-79) and probably led into the section which now precedes it (66-73), describing the problems of a local commander in northern Greece who gets drawn into a revolt. One explanation of the Advice to a Toparch may simply be that it gave Kekaumenos an opening for introducing this material. I have no doubt that he used devices of this kind to include stories which showed his family in a good light<sup>15</sup> ; but it also introduces into the admonitory tradition a new kind of situation.

This therefore brings us back to questions, not only of genre but of milieu, which can usefully be addressed by looking at the tradition of the manuscript in which this admonitory text is found.

13. Kekaumenos 16.9. The advice to choose honourable death over life is a commonplace in moralising literature ; the passage here reflects the commonplace αἰροῦ καλῶς τεθνᾶναι μᾶλλον, ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς, *Ad Nicoclem* 36, frequently repeated in the florilegia (see *Spaneas. Vorlage, Quellen, Versionen*, ed. G. DANEZIS, Munich 1987 [Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 31], p. 157, n. 87) ; see also Aesop. *Fab.* 168, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, ed. A. HAUSRATH – H. HUNGER, Leipzig 1959-1970 ; *Stephanites* 218.3, *Stephanites und Ichnelates : Überlieferungs-geschichte und Text*, ed. L.O. SJÖBERG, Stockholm 1962 [Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 2] ; *Spaneas...*, ed. DANEZIS *cit.*, 321-325, and 508-509. The idea is also found in military treatises.

14. *Ibid.*

15. C. ROUECHÉ, «Defining the Foreign in Kekaumenos», in D.C. SMYTHE (ed. by), *Strangers to Themselves : The Byzantine Outsider*, London 2000, 203-214.

# I. THE MANUSCRIPT

Our text (apart from the section at 81.10 to 84.15) is found in only one ms, *Mosqu. Synod.* 436 (formerly *Vlad.* 298)<sup>16</sup>. This ms was described fully, with especial reference to our text, by B. Fonkic<sup>17</sup>; it has been described most recently by E. McGeer<sup>18</sup> and A. Karla<sup>19</sup>. It probably originated in or near Trebizond (see below) ; by the 17th century it was in the library of the monastery ton Iviron on Athos<sup>20</sup>. It was purchased in the 1650s by Arsenii Sukhanov, for the new patriarchal library in Moscow. *Mosq. Synod.* 436 is made up of two separate manuscripts, fol. 1-350vo and fol. 351-577vo ; there are three groups of small additions, f. 1-5, 58 and 492-3. Fonkic provided a list of the material in the manuscript, and Karla has published another ; the following description has been based on those, expanded and updated :

## Part I

- fol. 1-5 (separate). Unpublished. A collection of short theological treatises.  
 fol. 6-109 = Cod. K of *Der griechische Alexanderroman Rezension*, ed. L. Bergson, Upsala 1965 [*Studia graeca Stockholmensia* III]: see especially p. XIV-XV ; also of J. Trumpf, *Vita Alexandri Regis Macedonum*, Stuttgart 1974 : 'see p. VIII. This version has been separately edited by E. Papamichael, 'Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. *Der Alexanderroman nach dem Codex K Mosquensis 436 (S. Synod. 298)*, Köln 1981.  
 fol. 109vo-115 = 'Ἀποφθέγματα καὶ γνώμαι διαφόρων φιλοσόφων σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ed. E. Papamichael, *Die Apofthegmensammlung im Codex K Mosquensis 436 (S. Synod. 298)*, Köln 1981.  
 f.115-115vo = Rufus the philosopher on the use of πῆγανον : Papamichael, 39.

16. I have not seen the ms., but have worked from a set of photographs kindly provided by the Institut d'Histoire et Recherche des Textes in Paris ; on one point, Professor Litavrin has very generously checked the ms for me.

17. B. FONKIC, «O rukopisi Strategikona Kekavmena», *Vizantijskij Vremmenik* 31 (1971) 108-120. Some of the material was also described by M.A. SANGIN, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, XII, Brussels 1936, p. 78, nr. 32.

18. E. MCGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth : Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, Washington 1995, p. 3-8.

19. *Vita Aesopi*, ed. G.A. KARLA, Wiesbaden 2001 [*Serta Graeca* 13], p. 26-29.

20. *Physiologus*, ed. F. SBORDONE, Milan 1936, XIV, notes a reference to Kutlumus on f.577vo.



fol. 115vo-136vo = *Nicephori praecepta militaria ex codice Mosquensi*, first edited by J. Kulakovskij, St. Petersburg 1908 [Memoires de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Petersburg, Cl. hist.-philol., 8], on which H. Hunger, *HPL* II, 336-7 ; re-edited by E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's teeth : Byzantine warfare in the tenth century*, Washington 1995, 12-60.

fol. 136vo-229 = *Consilia et Narrationes*.

fol. 229-232 Unpublished. A collection of apothegmata, inc. = ἀποφθέγματα : Καλλίας ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐρωτιθεὶς, τί ἐστι φίλος, ἔφη : μία ψυχῇ ἐν δυοῖ σῶμασι  
Μηδέπω πηνῶ δύο φύλων κριτῆς εἶναι : ἐνὸς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐχθρὸς ἔσθι  
Μη νοθέτη γέροντα ἀμαρτάνοντα : δένδρ(ων) γὰρ παλαίων μετὰφυτευθὲν δύσκολον ἐστὶν  
Ομοιοι ἐστὶν ὀδιγῶν τυφλὸν λαβεῖν ἢ συμβουλον ἀνέσθητον  
Ὁ λυδῶν π(ατε)ρα δυσφήμω λόγῳ : τὴν εἰς Θεοὺν μελετὰ βλασφημίαν  
ends : καὶ μησέσης τὸν πλῆσιον καὶ διαθύκην ὑψίστου

All of these commonplaces are familiar : thus the first<sup>1</sup> is found attributed to Diogenes (Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 2.33.10) and Aristotle (*Gnomologium Vaticanum*, 137). But these particular collections, and the attribution to Kallias, are apparently not otherwise attested.

fol. 232vo-246vo = Cod. B of *Fabulae Syntipae*, in *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* I, 2, 155-183.

fol. 246vo-247= «Epigram» of Secundus the philosopher : the text is given by B.E. Perry, *Secundus, the silent philosopher*, Ithaca 1964, at the bottom of pages 83 and 85 ; it is a version of the Greek version of Secundus, questions 8 and 10.

247-249 vo. Unpublished. An alphabetic collection of gnomae. Inc.: ἀρχὴ ἀνδρείας δικαιοσύνη φίλη.  
Ends : ἀρχὴ τοῦ ᾧ στοιχείου. ὡς δεινὸν ... ἀπλειστεία. ὡς τὰ πάντα τιμῆς.

fol. 249vo-250vo : Unpublished. Three Aesopic fables ; this text was not known to Hausrath-Hunger<sup>21</sup>. The second is similar to Fab. 126 and

21. *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, ed. A. HAUSRATH – H. HUNGER, Leipzig 1959-1970.

- apparently corresponds to the version of that fable found again in our ms in the collection at fol. 494-530 ; the third is similar to Fab. 103, but the first cannot be identified.
- 250vo-251 Unpublished. An address to an emperor, and to a patriarch, both written under a «Grand Komnenos».
- fol. 251vo-302vo = Cod. A in Michael Andreopoulos, *Liber Syntipae*, ed. V. Jernstedt et P. Nikitin, St. Petersburg 1912 [Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg, Cl. hist.-philol., 11]. Translated by E. Maltese, *Il Libro di Sindbad : novelle persiane medievali*, Turin 1993 ; F. Conca, *Novelle Bizantine : il libro di Syntipas*, Milan 2004.
- fol. 302vo-303vo : Unpublished. A short treatise on meteorology (?) Inc: Δεῖ εἰδέναι πῶς ὁ ἥλιος ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἕως δύσεως.
- fol. 304-334vo : Bartholomaeus of Edessa, *Confutatio Agareni*. This text has been re-edited, from the one other ms, Cod. Scaligeranus Gr, 21, by K.-P. Todt, Würzburg 1988 [Corpus Islamo-Christianum, Series Graeca 2]. Unfortunately Todt only learned of this version after the completion of his study, and so treats it in an appendix (173-208). It is currently being re-edited by D. Reinsch. The date is uncertain : Sahas suggests the late ninth century<sup>22</sup>, Todt the twelfth (XXXII-XLVI).
- f. 335-341 Unpublished. A series of texts against Armenians.
- 341v-344 Cyril of Alexandria (Sp), Διάλεξις πρὸς Νεστόριον, PG 76, 249-56 ; CPG 5433.
- 344-8 Unpublished. Letter by James, the Lord's brother.
- 348-9 Unpublished. Life of Arethas (excerpt from BHG 167 : again an anti-Nestorian text).
- f. 349-350 vo Unpublished. About the Pope and western Christians.

## Part II

- fol. 351-438vo = Cod. S1 in *Stephanites und Ichneutes...*, ed. SJÖBERG *cit.*, see especially p. 33.
- Incip : ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρράβων διαλέκτου μετένεξης Συμεῶν Μαγί-  
στρου καὶ φιλοσόφου τοῦ Σήθ μνηκῆ διήγησις τὸ κατὰ Στεφανί-

22. D. SAHAS, «Bartholomeus of Edessa on Islam», *Graeco-Arabica* 7-8 (1999-2000) 467-483, p. 471, drawing attention to Bartholomaeus' knowledge of Arabic.

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22. D. SAHAS, «Bartholomeus of Edessa on Islam», *Graeco-Arabica* 7-8 (1999-2000) 467-483, p. 471, drawing attention to Bartholomeus' knowledge of Arabic.

του καὶ Ἰχνηλάτου λεγομένη σαρακαϊνῇ διαλέκτῳ Κιλυλὲ καὶ  
Δημία

This introduction is the same as that in *Monacensis* 525 (see further below).

- fol. 439-491<sup>vo</sup> = Cod S in *Vita Aesopi*, ed. B.E. Perry in *Aesopica* I, Urbana 1952, 81-107, and 133-208 ; cf. p. 27-32 ; also in G.A. Karla, *Vita Aesopi*, Wiesbaden 2001, where see p.26-29.
- fol. 492-493<sup>vo</sup> Unpublished. A letter in response to a query : ends εἰμαρμένη οὔτε ἦν οὔτε ἐστίν, οὔτε ἔσται τὸ σύνολον.
- fol. 494-530 = Cod. Mo in *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, I, 1.
- fol. 530-531 = Cod. S in *Aesopi Cosmicae Comoediae*, ed. B.E. Perry in *Aesopica* I, Urbana, 1952, p. 287-289 ; This group of 41 *gnomai* is only found here and at *Monac.* 525 ; see further below. One is cited at Kekaumnos 37.18
- fol. 531-549<sup>vo</sup> = Cod. A in *Fabulae Syntipae*, in *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* I.2 155-183 ; cf. I.1, p. XXIV, where «cod. Mosquensi sancti synodi 571» should read «cod. 436», and «a folio 571» should read «a folio 531». Συντίπα τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐκ τῶν παραδειγματικῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων.
- fol. 550-577 = Cod. S in *Physiologus*, ed. F. Sbordone, Milan 1936 ; see especially XIII-XV ; see also D. Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus nach der ersten Redaktion*, Meisenheim 1974, 2b, Codex Σ.

The ms is otherwise remarkable for the outstanding ineptitude, «chaotische orthographie» (Todt, 174) of the scribe : «*scatet hic codex ut vix ullus alius turpissimis peccatis orthographicis*»<sup>23</sup>. This scribe was probably responsible for some of the mistakes in our text, such as the errors in numbering the Pinax, which he appears to have done himself, since the mistakes in numbering occur at the top and bottom of his folios.

Krumbacher<sup>24</sup> and Perry<sup>25</sup> pointed out the similarity between *Mosq. Synod.* 436

23. *Liber Syntipae*, ed. V. JERNSTEDT – P. NIKITIN, St. Petersburg 1912 [Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersburg, Cl. hist.-philol. 11], p. 11. Their edition includes a photograph of two pages of the *Syntipas* (f. 251<sup>vo</sup>-252, facing p. 200), clearly by the same hand as our text.

24. K. KRUMBACHER, *Die Moskauer Sammlung mittellgriechische Sprichwörter*, I, Munich 1900 [SBAW], 339-464, p. 381-383.

25. B. PERRY, «The Text Tradition of the Greek Life of Aesop», *TAPA* 64 (1933), p. 202-203, 234 ; ID., *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Haverford 1936, p. 185-190.

and *Monac. gr. 525* compiled by Andreas Libadenos, who was born in Constantinople in the early 14th century ; he developed close links with Trebizond, and seems to have lived there from about 1340. It was in Trebizond that he compiled the manuscript, which contains several compositions of his own, including an autobiography<sup>26</sup>. The latest dateable work in the ms is from 1361. Both ms contain the *Vita* and the *Fabulae* of Aesop<sup>27</sup>, the *Cosmicæ Comoediae* ascribed to Aesop (only found in these two ms), the so-called *Fabulae Syntipae*, the *Liber Syntipae*, and the *Stephanites and Ichnelates*. Since, of these, one text of the *Fabulae Syntipae* and the *Liber Syntipae* are both found in the first half of our ms, and the others in the second, both parts of the Moscow ms bear some relationship to the Munich ms, although the second half is the more closely related<sup>28</sup>. But the relationship must be a complex one. While the version of the *Liber Syntipae* in the first half of our ms is superior to that in the Munich ms<sup>29</sup>, the version of the *Stephanites and Ichnelates* in the second half is inferior to the Munich version<sup>30</sup>.

The Moscow ms is also connected with Trebizond, firstly by the two documents (on f. 250-1) which refer to the Grand Komnenoi. On f.101 there is a further note, which H. Bartikian recognised as a prayer for «Lady Chatoun». This term, derived from a Persian/Turkish title, is found at Trebizond in the 14th-15th centuries ; it is used of the daughter of John IV Komnenos (1429-58), who could have owned the manuscript<sup>31</sup>. Fonkic dated both halves of the Moscow manuscript to the fourteenth century<sup>32</sup>.

26. See O. LAMPSIDIS, *Life and works of Andreas Libadenos*, Athens 1975, with a description of the manuscript at 11-38.

27. *Corpus...*, ed. HAUSRATH – HUNGER *cit.*, praefatio XIII, describes the Munich ms as following the Moscow manuscript.

28. KRUMBACHER, *Die Moskauer Sammlung...*, *op. cit.*, p. 382 «die Ähnlichkeit ist so gross, dass man sogar einen engeren verwandschaftlichen Zusammenhang des zweiten Teiles des *Mosq.* 298 (fol. 351-576) mit dem *Monac. 525* annehmen muss».

29. See *Liber...*, ed. JERNSTEDT – NIKITIN *cit.*, 111.

30. *Stephanites und Ichnelates...*, ed. SJÖBERG *cit.*, p. 146-147.

31. H. BARTIKIAN, «O Vladelitse rukopisi, sobetov i passkazov (*strategikona*) Kekavmena», *Vest.ob nauk Armen* 1 (1973) p. 75-78, whence E. TRAPP, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna 1976-1996, nr. 30735. For Chatoun see also G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica* 2 (Berlin 1958) II, 343, and TRAPP nr. 30736, 30737.1

32. FONKIC, «O rukopisi...» *cit.*, 109 and cf. n. 9 for a list of various datings of the ms between the 13th and 15th centuries. To these should be added *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, L.BERGSON, Stockholm 1965, p. XIV-XV, who considers the first part to be of the 15th century and the second of the 14th century, as do in *Corpus Fabulorum Aesopicarum*, ed. HAUSRATH –



The interest of all this to us is that these two manuscripts preserve a group of texts which all belong in the tradition of advice and admonition, to individuals and to rulers. Perry describes *Syntipas*, *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, the *Life of Alexander*, the Aesopic material and the *Physiologus* as significant members of a body of gnomic and advisory literature which passed in and out of Greek and other near eastern languages on the eastern border of the Empire ; thus ideas in the Wisdom of Sirach can be paralleled from Greek sources<sup>33</sup>. Of the group here, the translations of *Stephanites* and the *Syntipas* can definitely be dated to the end of the eleventh century ; Perry considered that the collection of material in this manuscript had originated in Eastern Asia Minor in the late eleventh century, which is, of course, the date of the composition of the *Consilia*<sup>34</sup>.

In these two ms the works are also described in similar terms :

Fabulae Syntipae : Συντίπα τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐκ τῶν παραδειγματικῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων

Life of Aesop : βίου Αἰσώπου τοῦ φιλοσόφου

Fables (*Monac.*) : Μῦθοι ... ὡς ἐν παραδείγμασιν

The Aesopic material has a long and complicated history, unravelled in a series of studies by Perry, Hausrath and Hunger. The so-called «fabulae Syntipae» are a late addition to this corpus, with a clear debt to the rhetors of late antiquity<sup>35</sup>. They are only found in the Moscow and Munich manuscripts; Libadenos describes them as χρήσιμους<sup>36</sup>. The *Stephanites and Ichnelates* and the *Syntipas* are both Greek translations of eastern works, the «Kallilah and Dimnah» and the «Book of Sindbad».

The «Kallilah and Dimnah», which originated in India (the *Panchatantra*), is a chain of fables whose purpose is particularly to advise rulers. The Greek translation is now the object of a close analysis by Dr Condylis-Bassoukos<sup>37</sup>. It was translated

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HUNGER *cit.*, I, p. XXIV ; *Physiologus*, ed. SBORDONE *cit.*, follows Vladimir (13th and 15th) ; Karla considers both parts to be 13<sup>th</sup> century.

33. B. PERRY, «The origin of the book of Sindbad», *Fabula* 3 (1959), reprinted as a separate volume (= Berlin 1960), 1-95, esp. p. 13-16.

34. ID., *Studies in the Text History...*, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

35. See H. HAUSRATH, art «Syntipas», *RE* IV.A2 (1932), 1464-71, esp. 1469-71.

36. *Monac. Gr.* 525, at LAMPSIDIS, *Life and works...*, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

37. H. CONDYLIS-BASSOUKOS, «A propos de la traduction grecque de Kalila wa Dimna», *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 207-212 ; EAD., «"Stephanites kai Ichnelates" : traduction grecque de "Kalila wa-Dimna"», *Muséon* 103 (1990) 139-149 ; EAD., *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès, traduction grecque (XIe siècle) du livre Kalila wa-Dimna d'Ibn al-Muquffá (VIIIe siècle) : étude lexicologique et littéraire*, Louvain 1997.

from the Arabic by Symeon Seth, *magistros*, and *philosophos*, known as a doctor to Michael VII Doukas. Seth came from Antioch ; his career is discussed by Sjöberg<sup>38</sup>. There are two versions of the introduction. One of the earliest ms (Florence *Laur. plut.* XI, 14) states that the translation was undertaken in Constantinople at the request of Alexios I Komnenos, but omits the name of the translator or of the Arabic text<sup>39</sup>. It describes the work as συγγραφή περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων. The other tradition, which our ms follows, omits the mention of Alexios, but ascribes the translation to Simeon Seth *magister* and *philosopher* (of Antioch, in some ms) ; this tradition also includes the name of the Arabic text. The standard description of the work is that found in our ms, calling it a μυθικὴ διήγησις : Condylis-Bassoukos makes a strong argument for the *lectio difficilior*, found in an earlier ms, μυστικὴ διήγησις, and argues for this text having been understood as conveying valuable truths in a disguised form – a work whose translation was wholly appropriate to a philosopher and a doctor such as Seth<sup>40</sup>.

Condylis-Bassoukos observes that in many traditions this text is identified as an advisory text for rulers, but not in the Greek version<sup>41</sup>. This has led to considerable confusion in categorising it ; for Hunger, Beck and Mazal it comes under «popular literature» ; it is briefly mentioned by Blum in his study of *Fürstenspiegel*, but specifically ruled out by Prinzing, on account of its foreign origins<sup>42</sup>. But, as Condylis-Bassoukos points out, the work is not the simple «popular» enterprise that this implies. The text is more than a literal translation ; in particular, Seth adapts *gnomai* in the Arabic text to fit Greek *gnomai*, so that there are even some ideas which appear both in the *Stephanites* and in the *Consilia*.

The *Book of Syntipas* is also a chain of stories within a frame story ; its application is more general good advice, and it exists in many versions and languages. Although the Arab tradition claims an Indian origin for it, Perry argued that it

38. *Stephanites und Ichnelates*, ed. SJÖBERG *cit.*, p. 87-99 ; also by CONDYLIS-BASSOUKOS, *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès...*, *op. cit.*, p. XXIII-XXV. See also A. JONES, *An Eleventh Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*, Paris 1987 [Corpus des astronomes byzantins 3], p. 16-17.

39. H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, München 1971, p. 41-44.

40. CONDYLIS-BASSOUKOS, *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès...*, *op. cit.*, p. XXVI-XXX.

41. *Ibid.*, p. XXVI.

42. Not in HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche...*, *op. cit.* ; BECK, *Geschichte...*, *op. cit.*, p. 41 ; O. MAZAL, *Handbuch der Byzantinistik*, Graz 1989 ; W. BLUM, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel*, Stuttgart 1981 ; PRINZING, «Beobachtungen...» *cit.*, p. 5-6.

originated in Persia<sup>43</sup>. The two most reliable manuscripts for the Greek version are ours and the Munich manuscript : a slightly different tradition survives in *Vat. Gr.* 335<sup>44</sup> ; It is only the Moscow manuscript which contains the prologue to *Syntipas*. This is written, like that to the *Consilia et Narrationes*, in verse ; but this is in 12-syllable lines, while that is in 15 syllables :

ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς βίβλου ἔνε οὕτως :  
 τοῦ μυθογράφου Συντίπα κατὰ Σύρους  
 μᾶλλον δὲ Περσῶν τοὺς σοφοὺς λογογράφους  
 αὕτη πέφυκεν ἦν βλέπεις δέλτος, φίλε.  
 ἦν καὶ Συρικοῖς τοῖς λόγοις γεγραμμένην  
 5 εἰς τὴν παρούσαν αὐτὸς Ἑλλάδα φράσιν  
 μετήγαγόν τε καὶ γέγραφα τὴν βίβλον  
 τῶν γραμματικῶν ἔσχατός γε τυγχάνων  
 Ἀνδρεόπουλος Μιχαήλ, Χριστοῦ λάτρης  
 ἔργον τεθεικῶς προστεταγμένον τόδε  
 10 παρὰ Γαβριήλ, τοῦ μεγιστάνου κλέους  
 δουκὸς σεβαστοῦ πόλεως μελωνύμου,  
 ὅς ἐστι Χριστοῦ θερμὸς ὄντως οἰκέτης·  
 ὅς καὶ διωρίσατο γραφῆναι τάδε  
 ὅτι γε μὴ πρόσεστι Ῥωμαίων βίβλοις.  
 15 ἡ συγγραφή γὰρ ἦδε τοὺς κακεργάτας  
 διασύρει μάλιστα, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει  
 πράξεις ἐπαινεῖ τὰς καλῶς εἰργασμένας.

Characteristically of our ms, the text is full of errors, including : 1.4 : πέφυκενης ; 8 : τογραμματικὸν ; 11 : μεγιστάνου, corrected to μεγιστάνων by Koraes.

The beginning of the book is like this :

This book which you see, friend, is of the story-writer Syntipas, according to the Syrians or rather the wise writers of the Persians. It was written in Syrian words, and I translated it into the Greek language (which you see) here and wrote the book, being the last of the grammatici, Michael Andreopoulos, worshipper of Christ, having been assigned this work by Gabriel, the glory of

43. The definitive study is still that of PERRY, «The origin...» *cit.*, and on the Greek version, 59-63. See also E. PALTRINIERI, *Il «libro degli Inganni» tra Oriente e Occidente. Traduzioni, tradizioni e modelli nella Spagna alfoncina*, Turin 1992, and, most recently, E.V. MALTESE, «Liber Syntipae p. 44, 2 Jernstedt», *Studi Italiani di filologia classica*, s. III, 13 (1995), 231-232.

44. For all the ms see G. KEHAGIOGLU, «Ο βυζαντινός και μεταβυζαντινός Συντίπας· για μια νέα έκδοση», *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982) 105-130.

the commanders dux, sebastos, of the black-named city (Melitene), who is really a fervent servant of Christ, and who instructed that this, which is not among the books of the Romans, should be written. For this history describes most clearly the wrongdoers, and at the end praises good deeds.

The opening line recalls the end of the prologue to the *Consilia*: ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς βίβλου ἅμα τοῦ προλόγου διερρήη καὶ διέφθη ἴσως καὶ ἕτερα προλόντος τῆς. That prologue also refers to the text as δέλτον ταυτὴν. It is tempting to see the composer of that prologue as influenced by this one ; he perhaps also wrote the introductory line here.

In these verses Michael Andreopoulos states that he translated the work from the «Syrian» language, presumably Syriac. He did so for a great commander, Gabriel. Gabriel was recognised by Domenico Comparetti<sup>45</sup> as Gabriel the Armenian duke of Melitene (πόλεως μελωνύμου) at the end of the 11th century, who could have had the title of sebastos, which his father had held. The word μελώνυμος is apparently a new coinage, presumably meaning «black-named», but in fact created to describe Melitene. Krumbacher<sup>46</sup> and Hausrath<sup>47</sup> accepted this identification, as did Perry, who considered that this fitted precisely the kind of geographical background which he was proposing for this material.

Gabriel was an Armenian, of Chalcedonian faith, who ruled Melitene at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century ; he is known from historical narratives, and also, more recently, from his seals. One of these confirms the identification proposed by Comparetti ; Gabriel was so taken by the description of himself devised by Andreopoulos that he used the wording of the poem on a seal :

Γραφὰς σφραγίζω (πρωτο)νωβελλισίμου  
δουκὸς Γαβριὴλ πόλεως μελωνύμου<sup>48</sup>

Oikonomides doubted whether he held the title sebastos, used in the poem, and sees it as just an epithet of honour. Cheynet, however, takes it as evidence that Gabriel resumed relations with Alexius Comnenus before the capture of

45. D. COMPARETTI, *Ricerche intorno al libro di Sindibad*, Milan 1869, translated into English by H.C. COOTE, *Researches respecting the Book of Sindibad*, London 1882 [Publications of the Folk-Lore Society 9].

46. KRUMBACHER, «Die Moskauer Sammlung...» *cit.*, p. 893.

47. HAUSRATH, «Syntipas» *cit.*, Col. 1466.

48. N. OIKONOMIDES, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine lead seals*, Washington 1986, nr. 108 (from G. ZACOS – A. VEGLEY, *Byzantine lead seals*, Basel 1972-1985, II, p. 465). For another example see J.-CL. CHEYNET – C. SODE (éd.), *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 8, Munich 2003, «Catalogue of auctions», p. 221, nr. 708.



Melitene by the Danishmenids, in 1101-2<sup>49</sup>. We know that he had previously maintained control by accepting the authority both of the Turks and the Byzantines ; his titulature in another seal reflects this policy :

Γραφὰς σφραγίζω τοῦ Γαβριήλ ᾧς βλέπεις  
ἀμηρᾶ, δουκό(ς), (πρωτο)κουροπαλάτου<sup>50</sup>

This frontier world of divided loyalties is precisely that evoked by Kekaumenos in the most unique element in his *Consilia* – the Advice to a Toparch. The toparchs described there survive by a policy of loyalty without subservience ; Kekaumenos devotes most of his advice to warning against the dangers of actually visiting your overlord.

There are therefore strong indications not only that the bulk of the material in this manuscript was all assembled at about the same time, in the late eleventh century, but also that it came from roughly the same area of eastern Asia Minor. There are overall similarities of language and of linguistic register between the various texts, although few strong links. The *Consilia*, for example, contain various echoes of material found in this ms. The discussion of dragons is, in two places (81.14, 81.21), reminiscent of the Pseudo-Callisthenes text found at fol. 6-109. Condylis-Bassoukos has given an interesting analysis of sayings and ideas found in both *Stephanites* and the *Consilia*<sup>51</sup>. There are some similarities of language and expression with the *Praecepta Nicephori*, which immediately precedes our text in the ms ; for example

- 10. 9 «unflinching», ἄσχυλτος ; cf. *Praecepta* 1.85 for this sense.
- 12. 2 ἐξικανεῖς : so *Praecepta* II.6 etc., cf. ἐξικανῶν in Pachymeres II.209.8 and II.395.14.
- 12.17 «been put to confusion», φύρθης. (cod. φηρθς) ; this verb and its derivatives are used of confusion and disarray in an army by Maur.XII.8.20./346.30 \*\*\* and several times in the *Praecepta* II.54.
- 15.28 «earlier», προλαβόντες. cf. προλαβῶν ὁ λόγος, *Praecepta* II, 16.

49. J.-CL. CHEYNET, «Les arméniens de l'Empire en orient de Constantin X à Alexis Comnène (1059-1081)», in N. GARSOÏAN – J.-CL. CHEYNET – B. MARTIN-HISARD – P. PAGÈS (éd.), *L'Arménie et Byzance : histoire et culture*. Actes du colloque organisé à Paris par le Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines. Paris 1996 [Byzantina Sorboniensia 12], 67-78, p. 76-77.

50. OIKONOMIDES, *A Collection...*, *op. cit.*, nr. 107 (from ZACOS – VEGLERY, *Byzantine lead...*, *op. cit.*, II, 464).

51. CONDYLIS-BASSOUKOS, *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès...*, *op. cit.*, «citations», 123-127 ; «allusions», 127-142.



33.9 carry ... in their belts», βασιτάζειν ... εἰς τὰς ζώνας : so *Praecepta* I.38, βασιτάζειν εἰς τὰς ζώνας.

although K. does not recapitulate any of the advice or information in the *Praecepta*. At 37.18 K. quotes a proverb which is otherwise only known from the collection of Aesopic proverbs at fol. 530- 531 (see above).

None of these links are very strong. Far more significant is the general overall similarity between most of these works, both in date and in nature. All are concerned to give advice, or offer examples (the Life of Alexander) whether moral or practical ; and that advice is suited both to rulers and to men of standing. The interweaving of the tradition of advice to an individual and to a ruler is a reminder that to be offered a work of advice is in fact to be treated as an important person. I would argue that the material in this manuscript is very appropriate to the kind of person who appears so unexpectedly in the *Consilia* of Kekaumenos – the Toparch. It is precisely this kind of minor noble who requires guidance in gentlemanly conduct – a moral code which will in fact reinforce his status with external powers, and also within Byzantium. This is the sort of semi-independent noble honoured in the tradition of Digenes Akritas – a work which itself can draw on the gnomological tradition<sup>52</sup>. Similar moralising advice is what Photius provided for the young prince of Bulgaria, to whom he presented little more than a string of gnomai in his Letter 1. The works in this collection give the same kind of advice, still filled with gnomological wisdom, but far more imaginatively presented. It is perhaps here that we should look for the primary audience for the *Consilia et Narrationes* of Kekaumenos – independent commanders such as Gabriel of Melitene, and his equivalents on the frontiers between the Byzantine Empire and Bulgaria.

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52. P. ODORICO, «La Sapienza del Digenis. Materiali per lo studio dei *Loci Similes* nella recensione di Grottaferrata», *Byz* 59 (1989) 137-163.

La collection *Autour de Byzance* côtoie celle des *Dossiers byzantins*, et présente des publications qui portent sur les cultures avec lesquelles Byzance a eu des rapports étroits, aussi bien du point de vue de l'espace, que du temps. Cette nouvelle série a pour objectif ambitieux le désenclavement de la civilisation byzantine et veut montrer les multiples liens qu'elle a entretenus avec les autres mondes (occidental, arabe, ottoman, russe).

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